

/51/

## Section 4

## Village and Household

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Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village; significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses: scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

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In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntumu, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concentration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction.

[487]

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves; on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons: from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who, since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

101 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment  
on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr.,  
No. 62, March 15, 1903.

161 361 " is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

#### Beliefs

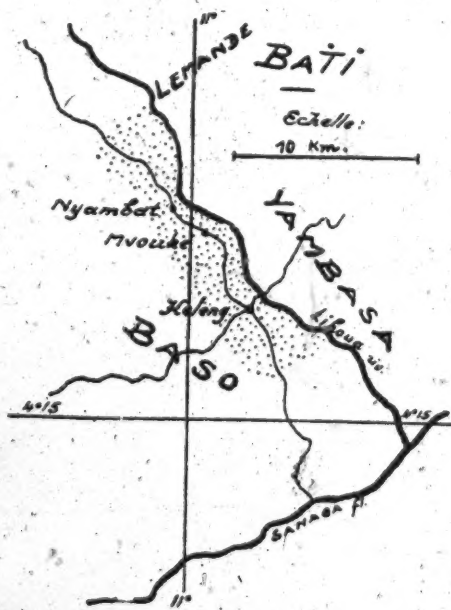
173 1861 I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

4:Dugast--1a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9  
Beté

101  
131

[MAP 1]



- 101 This group of Bëti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-  
 131 mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were  
 all those whom the French administration later called by the general  
 name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/  
 (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and  
 the Kombe.

- 114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may  
 174 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle  
 Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he  
 does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from  
 the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then,  
 pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes  
 that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati  
 were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by  
 that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk  
 (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that dif-  
 fered from the one taken by groups such as the Betsinga and the  
 Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let  
 themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a  
 population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people  
 were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced  
 the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the  
 central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the  
 intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language,  
 has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of  
 their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others  
 broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

- 113 Language. See:

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu  
 Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922),  
 Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof,  
 "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in  
 the Cameroons/, " Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische  
 Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche  
 Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse  
 der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

- 113 Forschungen 1904-1907 / Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).
- , "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns / The People and Languages of the Cameroons/", Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.
- 197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)
- 113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga / An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/", Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

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- , "Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu / The Bafia and the Culture of the Middle-Cameroons Bantu", "Ergebnisse der 1913 v. Reichs-Kolonialamt ausgesandte Forschungsreise nach Kamerun / Results of the 1913 Research Expedition to the Cameroons Sponsored by the Colonial Office/ (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1914), historical portions.
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- Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

### THE PAHOUI

- 101 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin,"
- 131 generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

- (10) barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than  
(31) 176, 000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30' in the north, and from 9° 30' to 14° meridian in longitude.

- (10) Pourtrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann  
(114) uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Pourtrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12, 583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

- (114) The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

- (114) The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the  
(174) extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

## Pahouin

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory  
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande,  
south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.).  
Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions,  
but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According  
to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the  
western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward  
migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the  
north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The  
advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in  
successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by.  
The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which  
constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon)  
moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers  
settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed  
again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of  
the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently  
had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of  
the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years.  
When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all  
these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the  
101 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of  
197 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the  
conclusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the  
Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are  
as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification  
is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups,  
the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane  
/Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in  
the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the  
Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann  
connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large  
101 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the  
Makei /Mekel/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on  
whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or  
Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

114 with names beginning either with Eb (Makei) or with Es (Betschi).

101 The Governor General, Cournarie, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Yaoundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:

|            |   |           |   |           |   |         |
|------------|---|-----------|---|-----------|---|---------|
| NANGA .... | { | Beti .... | { | Kolo .... | { | Ewondo  |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Bane    |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Mangisa |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Kombe   |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Tsinga  |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Etudi   |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Emfek   |
|            |   |           |   |           |   |         |
|            |   |           |   |           |   |         |
|            |   |           |   |           |   |         |
|            |   |           |   |           |   |         |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Eton    |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Mvele   |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Badzu   |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Omvang  |
|            |   |           |   |           |   | Ntumu   |
|            |   |           |   |           |   |         |
|            |   | Yesum     |   |           |   |         |

And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Badjia, the Bavek, the Bamvele, the Djanti, the Ngoro, and the Yangafuk."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

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Pahouin  
Bundju  
Kombe

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#### THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.  
 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

#### Physical and Human Geography

Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants

Kombe—about 1, 126 inhabitants

- 361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the  
 31 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, south-east of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

- 31 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these  
 101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

4:Dugast--8a

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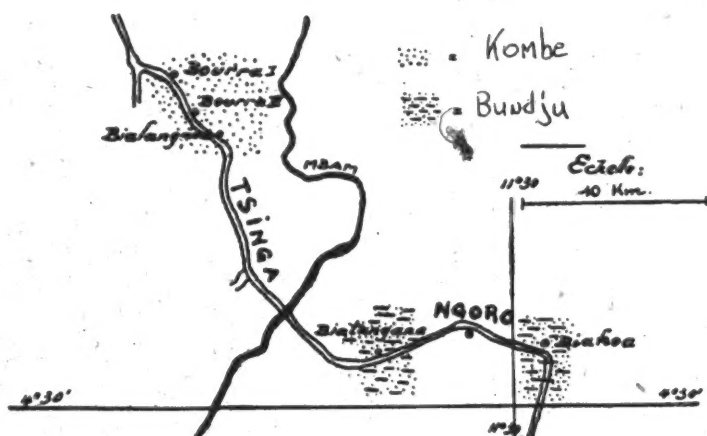
FH9 Fang FH9

Bundju

Kombe

901  
131

[Map 2]



Bundju  
Kombe  
Ngoro

101 present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of  
131 the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

173 According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesion after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

000 It would be interesting to investigate these former Beti from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Testmann calls the "Bati-Mbam" languages.

#### THE NGORO

131 Location:  $11^{\circ}15'$  to  $11^{\circ}30'$  long.  
101  $4^{\circ}30'$  to  $4^{\circ}55'$  north lat.

133 Physical and Human Geography. The Ngoro are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the Ngoro. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

Ngoro  
Bafök-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linde and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a  
167 Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

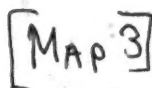
#### THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other.  
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.  
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

101  
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S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

## Ngoro



101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fök," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5,352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be  
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1,556.)

[161] The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members  
173 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the  
361 east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the  
[797] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few  
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2,418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

4:Dugast--11a

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9  
Bafök, Yangafuk



[MAP 4]

Bafok-Yangfuk

Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndome. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafok and Yangfuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

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#### TSINGA - BETSINGA

131

Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long.

and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé,  
4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

● 101

Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournaire in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

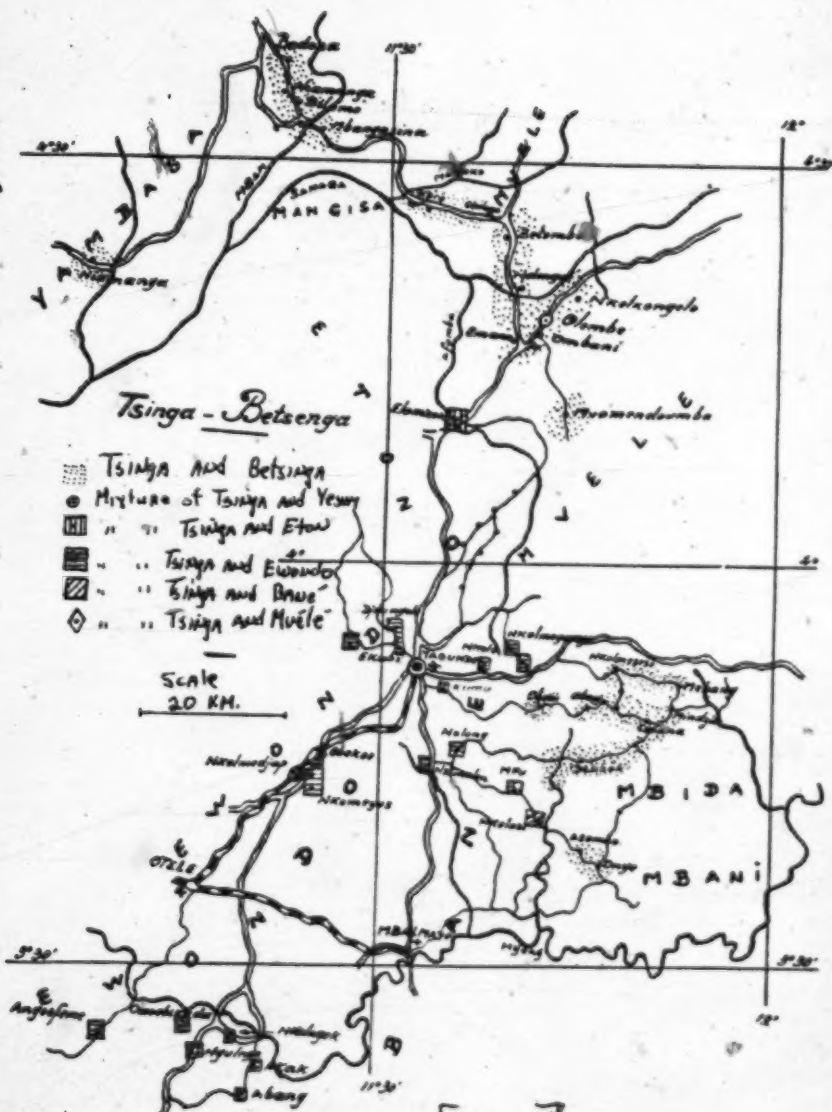
361

The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

## FH9 Fang FH9

### Tsinga - Betsinga



[MAP 5]

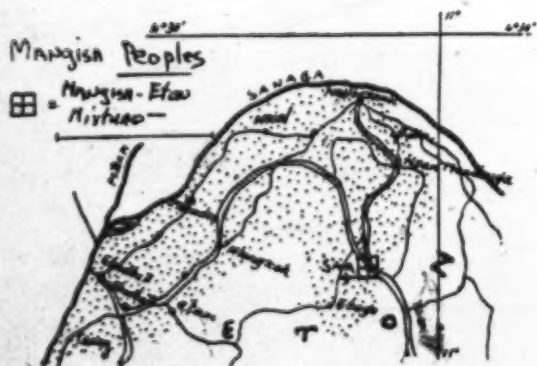
4: Dugast--14a

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9  
Mangisa

101  
131  
563

[MAP 9]



[MAP 7]

## Eton Peoples



- 113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

### THE EWONDO

- 101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.

According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

- 131 Location:  $10^{\circ}40$  to  $11^{\circ}40$  long.  
 $3^{\circ}10$  to  $4^{\circ}05$  north lat.

The Ewondo branch on a north-south trail  $10^{\circ}05$  long.  
on an east-west trail  $10^{\circ}25$  to  $10^{\circ}40$   
long.  
 $3^{\circ}10$  to  $3^{\circ}25$  north  
lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4,320 square km.

- 133 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by  
137 little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills  
which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong.  
The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the  
land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/  
The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about  
10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

- 133 The river Nyong, at  $3^{\circ}30$  north latitude, first borders the Ewondo  
country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before  
flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further  
downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok  
before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

- 133 The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

#### Human Geography

|     |                                                                 |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 161 | Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70, 994 in 1946 |
|     | " " " M'Balmayo " )—15, 359                                     |
|     | " " " Lolodorf " )— 6, 674 in 1947                              |
|     | 93, 027                                                         |

Evuzok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49.3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13.1 persons per square kilometer; in Evuzok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

- 173 History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently—one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weissenborr). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1889, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evuzok (1) were the last

1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

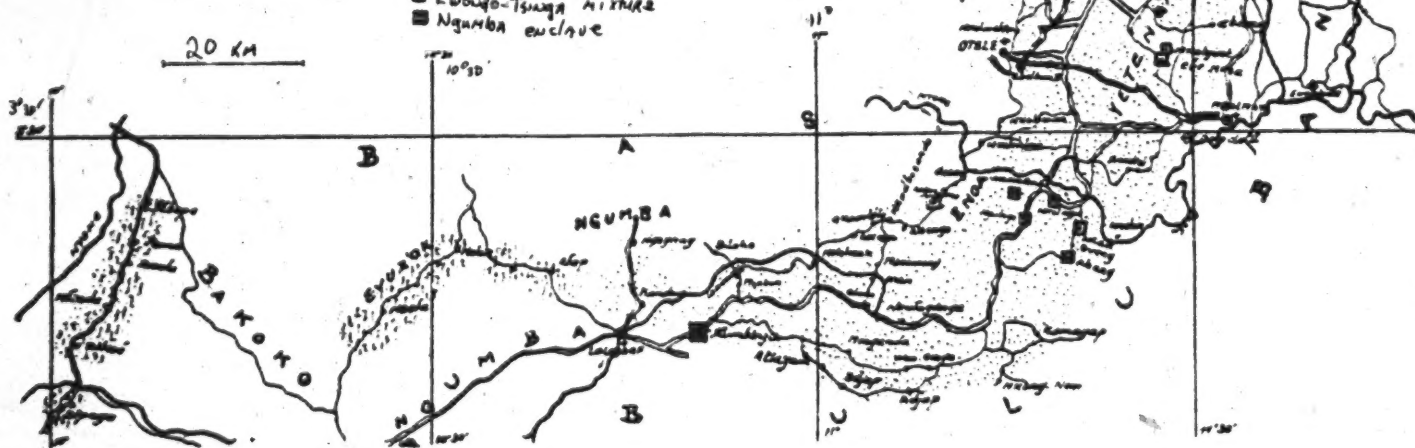
A

## Ewondo Peoples

Legend

- Ewondo Peoples  
 □ Muele enclave  
 ■ Ewondo-Muele mixture  
 ◇ Baka enclave  
 ◆ Ewondo-Baka mixture  
 ■ Ewondo-Bulu mixture  
 ● Etou enclave  
 ● Etou-Ewondo mixture  
 ■ Ewondo-Betsiwa mixture  
 ■ Ewondo-Tsiwa mixture  
 ■ Ngumba enclave

20 km



[MAP 8]

[MAP 9]

[Ewondo = 90% Ngumba]

101  
131  
563

4: Dugast--22a

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FH9 Fang FH9  
Ewondo



- 113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/, " in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/, " Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

#### THE FONG

131

Location:  $11^{\circ}$  and  $11^{\circ}15'$  long.  
 $3^{\circ}15'$  north lat.  
 and  $11^{\circ}30'$  to  $12^{\circ}$  long.

- 101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1,152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101

563

Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113

The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south



101  
131

Mvae Branch:  $9^{\circ}45'$  to  $10^{\circ}45'$  and  $11^{\circ}20'$  to  $11^{\circ}40'$  long.  
 $2^{\circ}15'$  (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to  $2^{\circ}55'$  north lat. and a few islands at  $3^{\circ}$  north lat.

Ntumu branch:  $10^{\circ}25'$  to  $11^{\circ}35'$  long.  
 $2^{\circ}15'$  (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to  $2^{\circ}35'$  north lat. /77/

### Physical and Human Geography

131

Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161

Population and density of each group:

Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.

Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.

Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137

The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

361  
563

The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

513

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

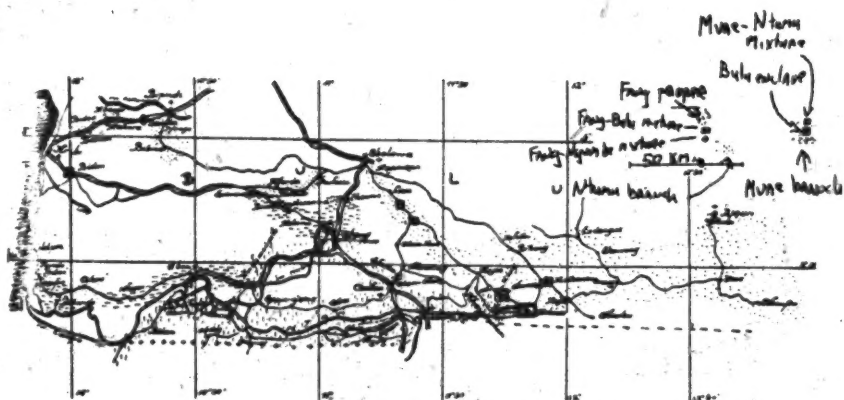
4: Dugast--28a

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9  
Fang

101  
131  
563

Fang Peoples



[Map 12]

- 113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S. E. C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

### THE BULU

- 131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west  
 101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35  
 [36] to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages  
 only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to with-  
 in 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

- 133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

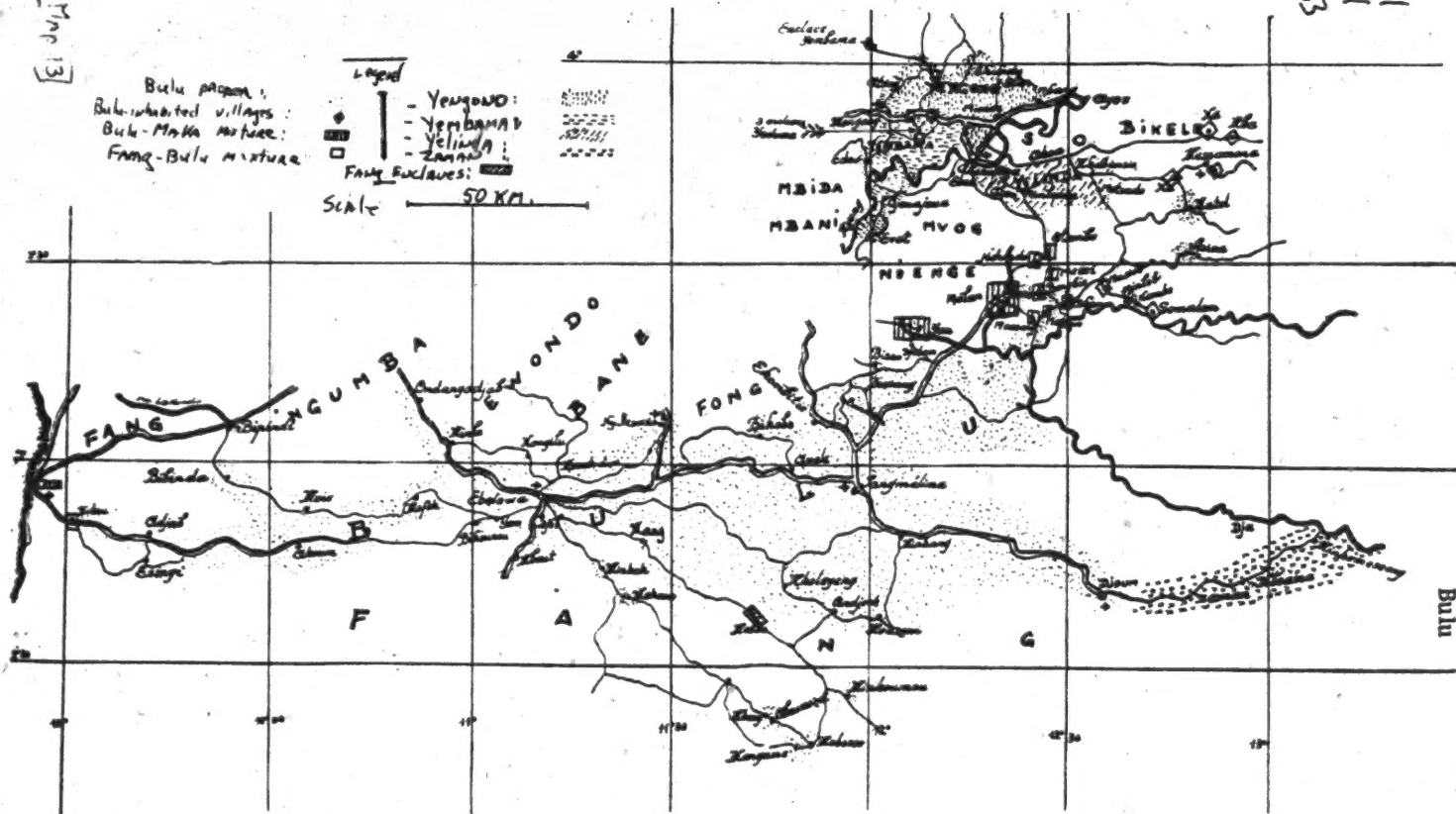
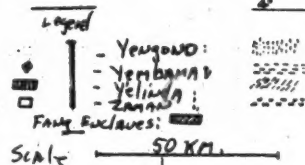
The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9,936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

- 361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a  
 133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates the waters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

# Bulu Peoples

[Map 13]

Bulu proper:  
Bulu-inhabited villages:  
Bulu-Maka mixture:  
Fang-Bulu mixture



101  
131  
563

4: Dugast--34a

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9  
Bulu



4:Dugast--40a

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

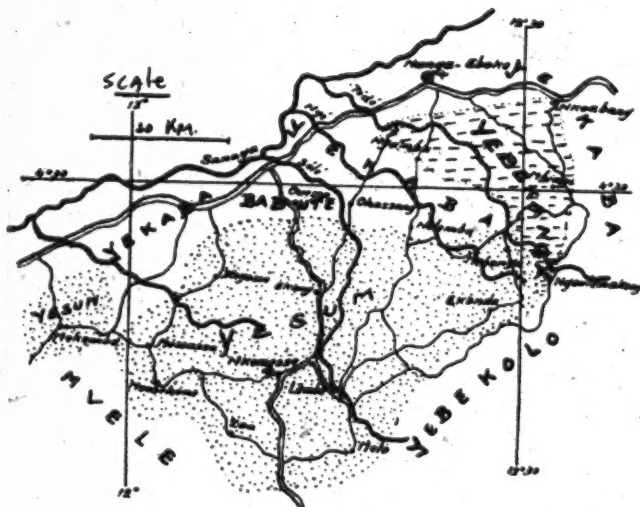
FH9 Fang FH9

Yesum

Yebekanga

101  
131

Yesum and Yebekanga



[MAP 15]

Yesum  
Yebekanga  
Yekaba

174

1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe), " (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

- 161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

- 163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

#### Bibliography

- 113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 521-23.

#### THE YEKABA

● 101

Location: 12° to 12°50 long.  
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131

Area: about 1,602 square km.

161

Population: 14,500 inhabitants

Density: 9.2 persons per square km.

133

All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nye, which are bordered by forest.

101

The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba," concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region." (1)

## 1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

174

According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekaba  
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their genealogies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression  
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/  
At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility  
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

### Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/, " Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

### THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131

Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.  
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

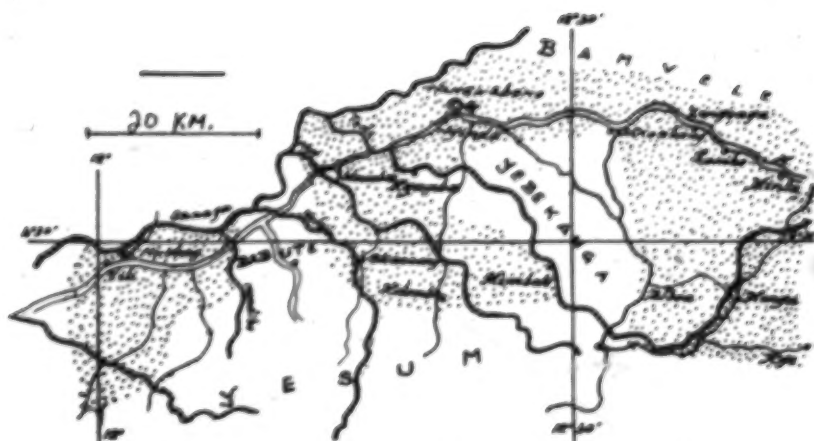
- 101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

4: Dugast--43a

S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9  
Yekaba

• 101  
131 Yekaba Peoples



[Map 16]

- 101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

- 131 Area: 2,472 square km.  
161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants  
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants  
Density: 10 persons per square km.

- 133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

- 174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

- 173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

- 114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

4:Dugast--44a

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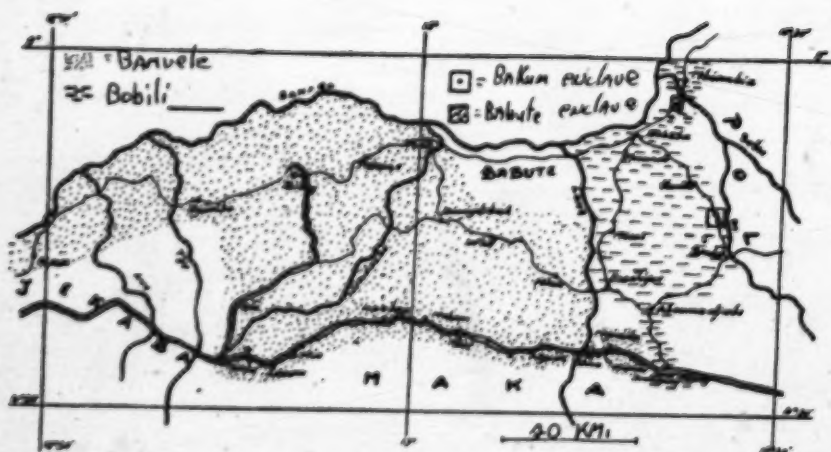
FH9 Fang FH9

Bamvele

Bobili

101  
131  
563

[Map 17]



4:Dugast--46a

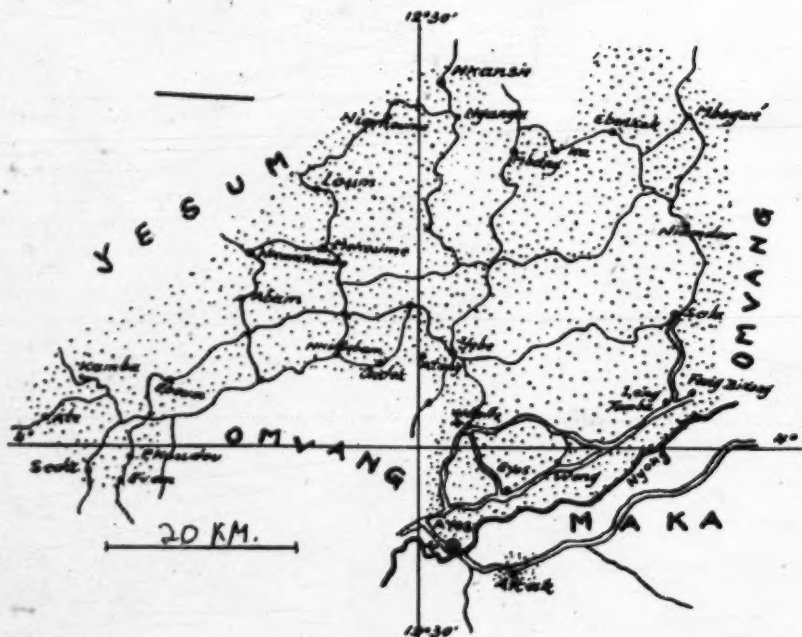
S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9

Yebekolo

•101  
131

Yebekoto Peoples



[MAP 18]



## THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131

Location: Mbida-Mbane— $11^{\circ}40'$  to  $12^{\circ}15'$  long.  
 $4^{\circ}20'$  to  $4^{\circ}50'$  north lat.  
 Mvogo-Nienge— $12^{\circ}$  to  $12^{\circ}28'$  long.  
 $4^{\circ}20'$  to  $4^{\circ}45'$  north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1,548 square km.  
 Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101

The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133

Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161

Population: Mbida-Mbane—19,707 inhabitants

Mvogo-Nienge—7,291 inhabitants

Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.

Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174

History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

244

Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

4: Dugast--51a

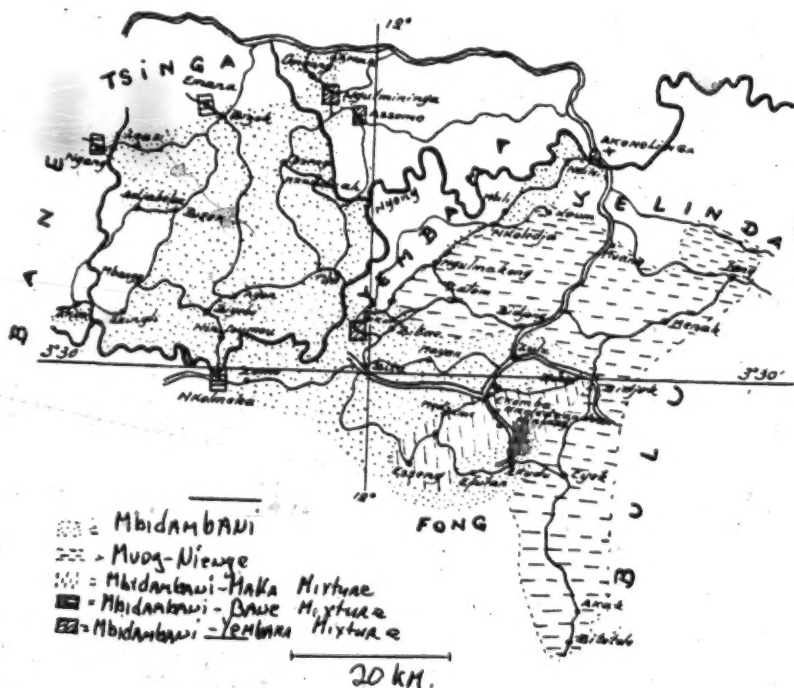
S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949

FH9 Fang FH9

Mbida-Mbane

Mvogo-Nienge

- 101 Mbida-Mbane AND
- 131 MUOG-NIENGE Peoples
- 563



[Map 20]

114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

- 101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

- 174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. 1, 1936.

174 forest region was symbolized by the legend told of the adzap (aža mbura) hole, referring to the obligation of all migrating groups [75] to pass through a hole dug in the adzap tree. Some of the educated Fang of the present day lay stress on the origins as reported by tradition, stressing the linguistic kinship between the Fang and Zandé dialects, (1) thus linking them to the civilizations of the

1. Kinship recognized by L. Homburger, Les Langues negro-africaines [Negro-African Languages], Paris, 1941, p. 35.

Upper Nile (and from there perhaps to Egypt), recalling the period when their ancestors were dressed "exactly like the Haoussa." (2)

2. In the modern version of the legend relating to the Ndong tribe (dispersed in Woleu-N'Tem).

This more or less explicit desire to give themselves "noble" origins corresponds to the more or less conscious desire of the Fang to force themselves on the forest populations of Gabon.

174  
● 101 It is necessary to examine precisely the distribution of the Fang throughout Gabon, and to recall their relations with the neighboring territories of the Cameroons and Spanish Guinea. The first classification attempted by early authors (3) was a division into

3. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le pays Pahouin [Studies on the Pahouin Country]", (dating from 1912), Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, No. 14, 1931; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]", Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, June 25, 1938.

"lands": Betsi land (region north-northwest of the Estuary, overlapping Spanish Guinea); Maké land (region southwest of the

174 Estuary and Ogooué-Ivindo), Ntoum land (region north of Woleu-  
 101 N'Tem, overlapping the Cameroons). This simplified division  
 does not take into account all the groups existing in Gabon, and  
 does not indicate the overlappings between tribes which occur in  
 each of the "lands" where there is constant migratory movement.  
 Moreover, these names have barely survived. (4) They have been

4. Maignan, nearly fifty years ago, con-  
 sidered such a division fictitious.

obliterated by the general designation of "Fang" and by specific  
 names (of tribe or clan, especially of family lines) representing  
 local reality. One might think from certain statements of G.  
 Tessmann and I. Dugast (5) that these names have mostly denoted

5. G. Tessmann, Die Pangwe [The  
 Pangwe], 2 vols., Berlin, 1913; 1.  
 Dugast, Inventaire ethnique [Ethnical  
 Inventory], chapter devoted to the  
 Pahuin.

migratory groups that have dominated and assimilated various for-  
 eign groups and have thus acquired certain distinctive cultural  
 characteristics.

Father Trilles asserts in a study published in 1912 that similar  
 distinctions can be explained "from the point of view of dialects  
 [ 78] and not from that of the customs or habits (which) are exactly  
 the same." (1) But the dialectal variants themselves which appear

1. Father H. Trilles, Le Totémisme chez  
les Fan [Totemism among the Fang],  
 Bibliothèque Anthropos, Vol. 1, fasc. 4,  
 1912, p. 12.

notably at the level of the names of clans (beginning with Esa, Esé,  
Esi, ... in the case of the Betsi; with Eba, Ebi ... in the case of  
 the Maké) have become blurred. At the time of the migrations  
 several groups changed their clan name, having become

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative  
● 101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day  
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo. (2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimio-graphiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem  
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

List of Tribal Names Occurring in Alexandre and Binet,  
Le Groupe Dit Pahouin (1)

- 101 Akélé /Kalai (Akelle)?/
- Asembé /Simba (Asimba)/
- Ati
- Babinga /Binga/
- Babonté /Wute (Bafute)/
- Babouté (Wutéré)
- Badjué
- Bafia /Fia/
- Bajieli /Jelli (Badiele)/ /Pygmy, see Beye'ele/
- Bajoué /Badjue/
- Bakoko \*
- Bakota /Kota/
- Bakwele /Kwele/
- Balengi /Lengi (Balenge)?/
- Bamiléke \*
- Bamoum /Mum/
- Bamum /Mum/
- Bamvele
- Bané \*
- Bantu-Myéné
- Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/
- Basa /Bassa/
- Basa-Bakoko /Bassa-Bakoko/
- Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga)
- Batenga /Batanga?; hence Tanga?/
- Bati \*
- Baya \*
- Bedzi (Betschi)
- Bekôé
- Bele
- Benga \*
- Béti
- Betsi \*
- Beye'ele /Jelli (Bayele)/ /Pygmy, see Bajieli/
- Bibaya
- Bikélé \*

● /O/ "Boulé" (Boulou)

Boulou /Bulu/

Bundju

Duala \* (Dawala /Diwala/)

Dzimou /Nzimu/

Dzimu /Nzimu/

Esel \*

Eton \*

Evuzok

Ewôndo

Fang \* or Fan \*

Fong

Fulbé /Fulani/

Galoa \*

Jem /Dzem/

Kaka \*

Kombe \*

Konabembé /Konambembe/

Kozimé

Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/

Kumbe \*

Mabea /Bea/

Maka \* (Mekae)

Make

Mangisa

Mazouna

Mbida-Mbané

Medzimé /Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendstime)?/

Meka

Mekae

Méke

Mekei (Makei)

Mekina

Mekuk

Mvog-Nyenge

Mvae \*

"Mvègne" (Mvae?)

Mvélé \*

Myéné

1a Ngoumba /Ngumba/  
 Ngumba •  
 Nkomi •  
 Ntoumou /Ntum/  
 Okak  
 Okande /Kanda/  
 Omvang  
 b-Osyéba /Osieba/  
 Ouroungou /Rungu (Orungu)/  
 Pahouin •  
 Pongoué /Mpongwe/  
 Pongwé /Mpongwe/  
 Séké •  
 Sonanke  
 Vili-Kongo /Vili/ /Kongo/  
 Wuté (sing. Wuté) /Wute/  
 Yambasa /Yambassa/  
 Yanda  
 Yasum  
 Yebekanga  
 Yekaba  
 Yebekolo  
 Yelinda  
 Yembama  
 Yengono  
 Yesum  
 Yetudi  
 Zaman  
 Zimu /Nzimu/

1. Names in brackets / / are the equivalents used in Murdock's tribal list /George P. Murdock, Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History, New York, 1959, pp. 425-456/. Those names asterisked are the same as those in Murdock's list, op. cit. This list was compiled by Mary Rouse, editor of the English translation.

- 131 (1) Names of stations.  
 132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.  
 (3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).  
 (4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.  
 (5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

/4/

## Chapter 2

### Ethnological and Historical Position

#### 1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubtedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fan group, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

101 It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzié Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/, Ntounmou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntounmou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-fan (radical fan plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

- 101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have \*Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104]

1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntounou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed. /

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (\*mulu, \*ôwôndo) is not used.

(vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fâne = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

## 2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

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It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group. The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order\* prevented ascertaining

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/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) =  
extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

#### A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

- 101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zô na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekae) (1). Madame Dugast

[17]

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zô/ki (or jd/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekae tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[17]

101 very rightly points out that the problem is visibly complicated by the existence of reciprocal influences. I therefore suggest, with many reservations, an empirical classification based on the geographical position of the various tribes, the dialectical differences, and the reconcilable portions of traditions and genealogies, all together.

Thus there may be distinguished:

in the south: a Fang group, in the rather broad sense

in the north: a Beti group, perhaps more Pahounized than Pahouin

between the two: a Boulou group /6/

a) The Fang group in the south would include:

the Fang, properly so called, of the Ogooué Valley in the southern Cameroons

the Ntounmou (or Ntum) in northern Gabon (Woleu-N' Tem), Spanish Guinea and the southern Cameroons (Ambam sub-division)

the Mvae, split into two blocks, to the east and west of the Ntounmou

perhaps the Osyéba of the Ogooué-Ivindo region, nowadays merged with the eastern Fang

b) The Boulou group would include:

the Boulou of the Sangmélina, Kribi, and Ebolowa (Cameroons) regions

no doubt the Zaman of the valley of the Dja

probably the Yengono, Yembama, and Yelinda of the Nyong Valley and the Okak of Spanish Guinea

perhaps the Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo /misprinted in text as Yekebolo/, and Mvélé (1)

1. The last, in spite of the similarity of name, are to be distinguished from the Bamvele or Bele and are to be connected with the Beti.

[114] The situation of the Beti is more obscure. They may perhaps have had a different origin from the true Pahouin, whom they would have followed in their migration toward the southwest. A striking cultural and linguistic likeness to the Fang is observed among certain tribes who are nevertheless separated from them geographically by the Boulou. This likeness disappears progressively as one moves northward. It might therefore be a question of some sort of intermediary

● **P** grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewondo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region

the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo

the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)

the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewondo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at  
174 the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.

53 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some  
[197] of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewondo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Babouté /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

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174  
523 east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

### 3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wuté (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboute /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngoumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjue, Dzimou /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

●p1  
33 Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzime

- [197]
1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekae) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwélé /Kwélé/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréne are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

6: Alexandre and Binet  
101, 131, 563, 619

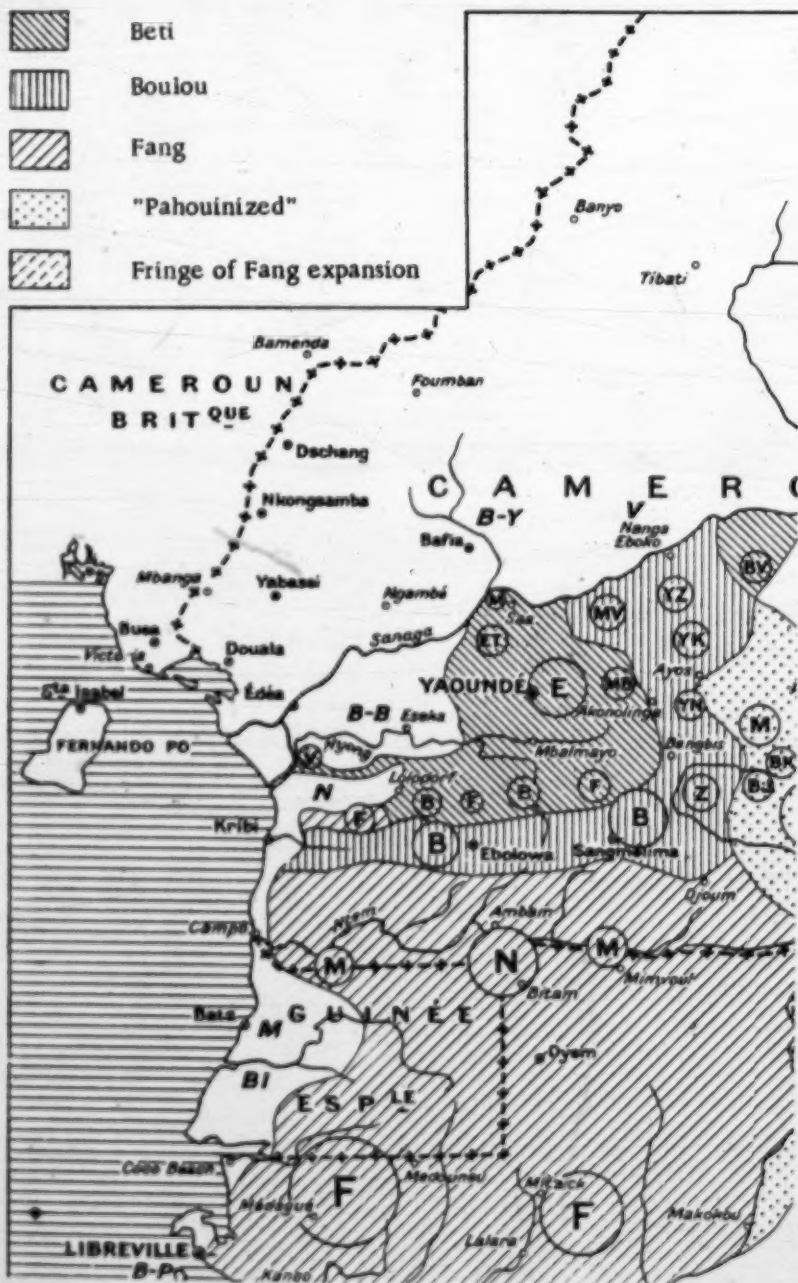
Fang FH9

[Chart for sections of end map.]

|   |   |
|---|---|
| A | B |
| C | D |

101  
131  
563  
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## The Pahouin Group


$$[\text{End Map}(A)]$$



101  
131  
563  
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MANGISA EWONDO FONG EVUZOK ETON MBIDA-MBANE

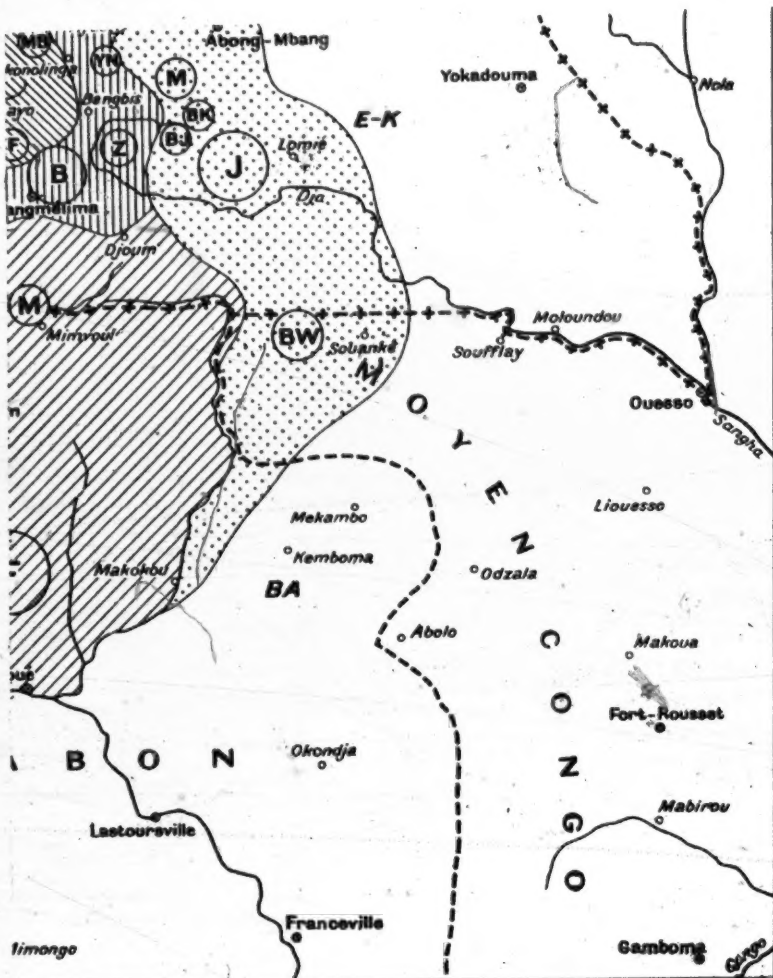
MVELE YEZOOM YENGONO FANG MVAE NTOUMOU A

### Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko, B-Y : Bafia-Yambasa, V : Babouté (Vutéré), B-K  
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé, BU : Bapounou, NK : Nkomi, B-P : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map(C)]

101  
131  
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|             |       |         |         |        |            |
|-------------|-------|---------|---------|--------|------------|
|             |       |         |         |        |            |
| MBIDA-MBANE | BANE  | BAMVELE | BOULOU  | ZAMAN  | YEBEKOLO   |
|             |       |         |         |        |            |
| NTOUMOU     | MEKAE | BADJOUE | BAKWELE | BIKELE | DZIMOU-JEM |

puté (Vutéré), B-K : Baya-Kaka, E-K : Essel-Konabembé, BA : Bakota  
B-P : Banga-Pongwé, BI : Balengi; M : Mabéa; BT : Batenga; N : Ngoumba

[End Map(D)]

[11]

## Chapter I

### The Fan Tribe

- 000 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation. "Fan" and "Pahouin" are two words not only synonymous but identical. The four Fan groups. Tribe, clan, and family (elementary cell).
2. Allied Tribes. Likenesses and differences between the Fan and related and so-called related tribes.
3. Size of Population. Errors in official statistics.

#### 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation

101 Before beginning this study, a word ought first to be said about the Fan [Fang] nation and its divisions into groups, tribes, and clans. [Footnote omitted, --Translator]

The Fan or Pahouin [Pahuin] or Mpawin [Mpangwe] (2) --

101  
197 2. The word "Fân" is the truly native word to designate this tribe. Strange as it may seem at first glance and in spite of the great change, "Pahouin" is another form of the same word. The first tribes on the coast with whom we were in contact called the Fân "Mpân," or mu-pân (pân, man), abbreviated to mpân by a process common among these African languages. Thus mpira, powder, in Mpangwe becomes efira in Fan; mpilatô; tray, becomes filato; epêlé plate, from Spanish "plata," becomes mfil by way of plata, epilata, épila, épêlé, efel, mfele, mfil, etc. Out of "Mpân," a word which only the tribes

101  
197

of the Nsex branch pronounce this way, the northern tribes -- Kombé, Banoko, and others belonging to the Mpongwe branch -- have made "Mpangwé"; as none of the languages of the Gabon or Mpongwé group let a word end with a consonant but always require a vowel. "Mpangwé" became "Mpangwen" for the French and soon thereafter "Mpangwin"; it has now turned into "Mpawin," "Pawin," and finally "Pahouin," in which form it is indeed difficult to recognize the original.

101 because these three words [12] refer to the same people -- are the most important tribe of the French Congo and the German [now French] Cameroons.

101 The Fan proper are divided into four distinct families  
197 with respect to dialects: Bétsi [Betsi], Méké [Mekei], Fôn, and Bulé [Boale] (in manners and customs they are all absolutely alike). These four groups do not speak such different dialects that they cannot understand one another unless at first meeting; they certainly do so after several days of association.

[Five paragraphs in pp. 12-13 deleted here. --Translator]

101 [13][Of the four groups] the first two are by far the best known, having made the first migrations or at least having been the first in contact with the white man. Everything that has been written about the Fan relates to these [two], particularly to the Bétsi.

The Bulé group is often considered to be connected with either the Fan or the Yaoundé, through whom it would form the intermediary link with the Méké. The Fôn (1), or people of the

1. Fôn, bamboo pith, dark depths of the forest.

interior, as the etymology of their name indicates, have remained up to the present time altogether inland beyond the Bétsi and Méké. Their dialect relates them to the Bétsi, differing in being more guttural. The tribes live closely intertwined in the same

[197  
194]

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

81 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each  
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate  
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,  
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of  
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of  
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three  
sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300  
warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have  
only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the  
contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands  
of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention  
a very important point: at present, and since a migration which,  
according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 genera-  
tions back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Exist-  
ing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be dis-  
tinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about  
ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean  
that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must cer-  
tainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors  
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, fam-  
ily disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambi-  
tious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth  
of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages  
and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agri-  
cultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits  
into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number  
of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and  
make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are  
very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist  
for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that  
made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying  
importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately de-  
duced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by  
Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

## 2. Allied Tribes

101  
619 Not only do these four large divisions -- Bétsi, Méké, Bulé, and Fõñ -- make up the Fan nation proper, but a certain number of other tribes revolve within their circle and are connected to the same branch. I say "a certain number" because the interior of the German Cameroons and the hinterland lying between the Woleu, N'tem, and upper Sanga rivers has been little explored. Before our arrival the existence of the Dzèm [Njem] was barely known; the Dzandzama had never been mentioned. These tribes form the intermediary link connecting the Fan to the Batéké branch and through this to the Kanioka and other central Congo tribes, [16] whose folklore has analogies with that of the Fan as I recently pointed out. (1)

1. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 945-971; Vol. 5, pp. 163-180.

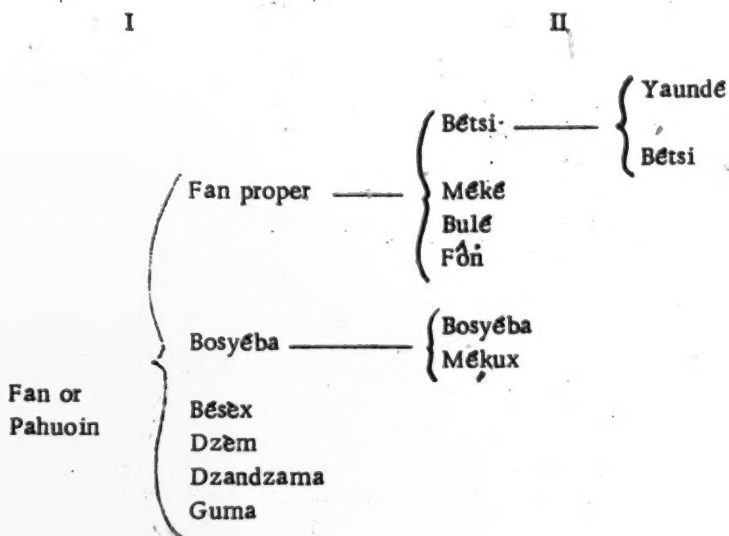
A Yaundé grammar was published not long ago in Anthropos; (2) these people are without doubt an offshoot of the

2. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

197 Bétsi branch. The Bosyéba dialect is somewhat different and is nearer that of the Bubi of Fernando Po; the group also belongs to the Fan nation. Finally, deviating from the primitive stock in progressive order, there are the Dzèm, Dzimu [Ndsime], and Dzandzama, nowadays scarcely leaving the jungle and the country of the Nyamnyam [Niam-Niam, Azande]. In spite of what has been said of them in the past, their language is only distantly related to that of the last tribe. (3)

3. Since certain observers and explorers -- such, for instance, as Allegret, a former Protestant missionary in Gabon, who connects them with the Nyamnyam, Fulah,

To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésèx, Dzèrn, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101  
619  
164 The Dzèrn, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzèrn.

The Bésèx, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, are a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésèx.  
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people  
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from  
the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered  
language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached  
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his  
porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué,  
immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to  
discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi terri-  
tory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué  
au Campo" [From the Ogooué to  
the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol.  
12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which  
author considers "incorrect." --Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been  
driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related  
to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of  
this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I  
say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all  
their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called  
"Mazuna" for the same reason.

### 3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is  
extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially  
they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure  
is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the  
man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the  
French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

114 and like a ~~resistless~~ army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns  
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often  
spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation  
above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are  
already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

114 The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in  
197 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,  
173 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that  
a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first  
day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make  
known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions.  
While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very  
old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that,  
a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first  
travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through  
the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return.  
My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been  
heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them  
that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

197 Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the  
539 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select  
from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to  
hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Atu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day  
rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*"  
Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu nyus* (the days that are past), *Melu ou* (the  
days that are to come), *Melu mease* (all the days). These sayings and numerous  
similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being  
almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given  
me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed  
their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis  
of the Bulu.

101 The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when  
questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang;  
if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many moons (months) you will find  
Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa  
the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestion-  
ably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity  
between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are  
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live  
within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will  
soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The  
Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not  
without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon ngui* (dwarfs) first